REMARKS
ON THE
GROWTH
AND
PROGRESS
OF
Non-Conformity.

The Fathers seem to call those Hereticks, who separated, or made divisions in the Church, though the Errour they maintained were very small. See Mr. *Baxter's Infants Church-membership*, his Answer to Mr. *Tombs's Valedictory Oration* at *Bewdly*, p. 169.

By Sir Roger L'Estrange

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THE INTRODUCTION.

IF *Ægles* the Champion that was dumb all his life before, had the ſtrings of his Tongue looſed, that he ſpake for ever after, to ſee the deceit that was at the ſacred Exerciſes in *Samos*; 'tis certainly enough to amaze us to ſee the greateſt diſturbers of the Churches Peace yet talk ſo much of Love and Holineſs, terms of *Union* and ways of *Concord*, *Pleas* for *Peace* and *Cures* of *Church-diviſions*, as the Provincial of the Proteſtant Schiſmaticks doth; to ſee them become as Fire-brands in the Church, that were ordained for ſaving Lights, and as Trumpets to ſound Martial alarms, that were deſigned for Retreats to popular Furies; to ſee pretended Holineſs a Cover to the deformity of Sedition and Innovation, and the moſt barbarous Villanies ſet on the Score of Religion and Reformation; to *Val. Max.*

ſee thoſe that, to remove him from evil Counſellors, have murder'd their lawful Sovereign, yet to ſtartle at the uſe of a Ceremony, like a Capuchin at the ſight of Money; to ſee theſe ſtill hunting upon the File, inſinuating the vileſt abominations in ſhew for the publick good, abhorring Idols, yet committing Sacriledge, eſpying Moths yet winking at Beams, crying down the Whore of *Babylon* when they mean nothing but the overthrow of Epiſcopacy; in a word, pretending nothing but Piety and Peace, when intending nothing but Schiſm and Sedition, and by the help of theſe holy Guiſes [as our Royal Martyr called them] to come to ſuch a ſummity of ſeditious inſolence, that if one offer a fight with theſe Beaſts of *Epheſus* in contradiction to their peeviſh Faction, (as one merrily obſerved) they preſently play the Duke of *Anjou*'s Cow, that bedaub'd the fingers of any that offer'd to pull her back by the tail, they make him the very Butt of the moſt infamous defamations, that the twiſted malice and ſubtilty of Earth and Hell can deviſe. Now one would think this enough to make a dumb Aſs ſpeak, in reproving the inſolencies and dotages of ſuch Prophets, who run thus in the ways of *Balaam*, to curſe a Church

Εἰκ. Βασιλ.

Church and People that the Lord hath bleſſed: At leaſt, 'tis enough to put any ſerious perſon on enquiry into the cauſes of theſe honeſt religious Villanies, as *Seneca* calls proſpering Wickedneſs, and how ſuch a pernicious Faction could arrive to ſuch a pitch of Reputation and Inſolence. The Enquirer will find theſe following means among others regardable.

R E-

REMARKS
ON
Non-Conformity, &c.

I. *Toleration and Indulgence.*

HE is much a Stranger to Non-Conformity, that knows not how much Connivance and Indulgence have conduced to its Increaſe, and how neceſſary are the coërcive means to the ſafe ſuppreſs of that dangerous Faction.

The firſt Inſtance I aſſign for this, is in Queen *Elizabeths* tolerating the French Church to be ſetled in *London* upon *Calvin*'s Principle in 1560. *Calvin* having ſolicited Biſhop *Grindal*; upon the impetration of the Biſhop the Queen aſſigned to the French Exiles the Church of St. *Anthony*, with liberty to erect the *Genevian Diſcipline*, and ſet up a Form of Prayer which had no conformity with the Engliſh Liturgy; which proved in the event a deſign'd expedient of *Calvin*'s for the advancing of Presbytery in the room of Epiſcopacy. Upon this Toleration their numbers ſo increaſed, that in 1568. they broke out into open Schiſm,

How Presbytery firſt got footing in *England*.

Schiſm, chuſing to meet in Barns and Fields rather than in Churches with their Brethren as formerly; teaching that it was impious to hold any correſpondence with the conforming Churches. Upon this very occaſion, (*viz.*) the Queens toleration, and particularly her indulging them the liberty of the *Genevian Diſcipline*, within eight years time their numbers ſo increaſed, and their inſolence alſo, that the Queen plainly ſaw (as her own words were) that *ſuch were the reſtleſs ſpirits of that factious People, that no quiet was to be expected from them, till they were utterly ſuppreſſed.* In order to which ſhe calls a Parliament in 1592. wherein ſtrict Laws were enacted againſt them, and executed accordingly. *Barrow*, *Penry* and *Burchet*, were hanged for ſuch their Non-conformity-principles and practices as were treaſonable. And by theſe ſharp Laws made againſt them, and ſome ſevere executions done on them, the Ringleaders of them were humbled, the whole body of them brought to a good meaſure of quietneſs, which theſe wholſom ſeverities kept them in till the end of the Queens reign: and in all probability, as a late Writer obſerves, they might have been for ever ſuppreſſed and kept quiet, had K. *James* at firſt held the reins with that ſtrict hand that Queen *Elizabeth* did before him; but for want of that they ſoon grew bold, fell a petitioning for Reformation of ſundry Ceremonies and Abuſes, (*viz.*) Croſs at Baptiſm, Bowing at the name of Jeſus, Surplice, &c. which occaſioned the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, where the defence made for their Cauſe was ſo mean, that the King turning his head to ſome of the Lords expreſſed himſelf thus; *If this be all they have to ſay, I'le make them conform, or I'le hurry them out of the Land, or ſomewhat worſe.*

Cambdens Eliz.

Aer. Red. l. 11. n. 1.

Conf. at Hampton-Court. p. 85.

This Conference being in *February*, the next Month pro-

produced the Kings Proclamation, wherein he ſtrictly enjoyns Conformity; admoniſheth all his Subjects never after to expect alteration in the Form of God's publick Service then eſtabliſhed. Accordingly the Laws were put in execution, without ſparing Non-Conformiſts or Half-Conformiſts, and by this they were reduced to that quiet ſtate again, that he found them in when firſt come to the Crown, till the Gun-powder Treaſon, at which time they began to be very bold and buſie; the King being terrified with the apprehenſion of ſo great a danger, turn'd all his thoughts upon the Papiſts, and ſo let the Non-Conformiſts take breath, and regain ſome ſtrength. And as their cuſtom ever was to fiſh in troubled Waters, prodigious Lies and Stories ſtill finding beſt entertainment in troubleſome times, *quia tutius finguntur & facilius creduntur*, ſays *Livy*. Therefore upon the occaſion of this *horrid Plot, the Gun-powder Treaſon*, their next expedient was (upon diſcovery of this Plot) to alarm the Court and Country with the fears of Popery, and of new dangers from the Papiſts, to exert the greateſt zeal for the Reformed Religion, for preſerving their Liberties and Priviledges againſt the incroachments of the Court, and by this very means (the Reins being looſed to them on the occaſion of the Plot) they drew much people to them, ſtrengthened much their Faction, and by degrees made a Party in the Houſe of Commons, who at laſt came to that height, that the King could do little in Parliament without applying himſelf to that popular Faction, and by the pretence of ſtanding for the Subjects Property, the preſervation of the true Religion againſt Popery, *&c.* they grew ſtrong in Parliaments, weakened the Prerogative Royal, aſperſed with the name of Papiſts all Anti-Presbyterians, and by this means grew ſo

ſtrong in both Kingdoms that they wanted now nothing but occaſion to break out into open War. Now their laſt advance to all this, beginning at the diſcovery of the Gun-powder Treaſon, the Faction having that opportunity for their revival, 'tis hard to ſay whether did moſt promote their deſigns, their taking this opportunity to arrogate to themſelves the reputation of the greateſt Anti-Papiſts, or the King's looſing the Reins, and letting them grow headſtrong by imploying all his care in the diſcovery of the helliſh Popiſh Plot, and puniſhment of the Plotters; but certain it is, that upon the Kings remitting his former ſeverities, and increaſing their Liberty, they ſoon grew headſtrong beyond the power of his Son King *Charles* the Firſt ever to ſuppreſs. And 'tis known beyond the reach of ſcruple, that that martyred King did meerly comply himſelf into nothing, by his Tolerations and Indulgences towards that Party, and delivered him himſelf into their bloody hands by his meer condeſcenſion and compliances with them; and that as he ſaid, Εἰκ. Βασιλ. *cap.* 5. *it was his ſuffering them to get to the Pinacle of the Temple that ſo tempted them to caſt him down headlong.* And 'twas undoubtedly the ſound and ſmart experience of the evil of Toleration, that made the wiſeſt of our Anceſtors ſo decry it. St. *Auguſtine* wrote ſeveral whole Epiſtles of the evil of tolerating Diſſenters. In his Epiſtle to * *Vincentius* he expreſſeth at large his great joy *de correctione Donatiſtarum*, for the puniſhing (or ſuppreſſing) of the Non-Conformiſts of his time: adding in the ſame Epiſtle that he was once for Toleration, but that that opinion of his was overcome ∴ *non contradicentium verbis, ſed demonſtrantium exemplis.* And he tells us in his Epiſtle to *Donatus*, *Ep.* 166. that after *Conſtantine* had made ſtrict Laws againſt the Donatiſts, *i. e.* the then

* Auguſt. Vincentio Ep. 48. Bonifacio Ep. 68. Ceciliano Ep. 166. Ep. ad Dona.

∴ Ep. 48. l. 5.

then Nonconformists, *Julian* the Apostate, one of his successors, gave toleration to the Donatists for their Schismatical Meetings, suffered their sacrilegious dissensions (as he calls them) as the expedient whereby he thought the Christian Religion most likely to perish out of the World, in these words, *Julianus Christi desertor & inimicus — libertatem parti Donati permisit — eo modo putans Christianum nomen posse perire de terris, si sacrilegas dissensiones liberas esse permitteret.* And accordingly *Constantine* the first Christian Emperour dealt with the Non-conformists of his time, saying, *Pestium illarum audacia mea executione coercebitur.* Auguſt. Ep. 166. L.G.

And Archb. *Whitgift* declared it impossible *to defend the Religion and Rites of the Church of* England, *to appease the Schisms and Sects therein, to reduce the Ministers thereof to Uniformity and due obedience, if after a long risk of Liberty, Dissenters had any countenance shewed them*; adding, *That if way were given to their clamours and surmises, it would cause that confusion which hereafter the State would be sorry for.* But hark what the grand Church-Barreter himself saith in his Treatise of Self-denial, (*Ep. Ded.* to the then honourable Colonel *James Berry* one of the Council of State, now reduced to Beggary.) In his *Epistle* to this great *Belizarius*, he calls *Toleration* Englands *misery, a liberty for drawing men to Hell, a wicked damning liberty, a strengthening the Party tolerated, a making way for their Power, a giving away our own Power, a preparing Faggots for our own Martyrdom*; *he speaks of the Magistrates tolerating, as of a sort of men that rule as though they were uncertain whether there were a Heaven or Hell, &c.* Such a sin was Toleration in the times of Usurpation, and after this manner did he call for fire down from Heaven to consume all that gave any toleration to the Episcopal Loyalists, that now upon the least touch of Mr. Baxter.

reſtraining Non-conformiſts, cries out of Gaols, Starvings Ruine, bloudy Perſecution, &c. 'Tis true indeed, in ſome of the fore-cited places, 'tis againſt tolerating of Popery he ſpeaks; but what's that? 'Tis well known that Popery and Epiſcopacy were then made *termini convertibiles*, and that the Engliſh Hierarchy was the Popery then oppoſed, as uncapable of the leaſt degree of Toleration.

'Tis a good obſervation of Mr. *Baxter* in his *Examination of Mr.* Tombs's *Præcurſor*, Sect. 13. p. 390. being an *Appendix to his Infant-Church-membership*; *That 'tis from Separation that ſo many in ſo many parts of the Land have turned Ranters, Blaſphemers, and commonly unclean, that ſeemed religious, yea ſome down-right Infidels, ſo that not onely the* Racovian Catechiſm, *but the moſt helliſh Books that ever was written,* (*called the* Three Grand Impoſtors) *labouring to prove Chriſt a Deceiver, was Printed in* London. *Such Enthuſiaſm there was that Women ran naked into the Aſſemblies, and men went about the Streets, ſaying, they were Chriſt, that this their wickedneſs ſpread far and near. I cannot hear* (*ſays Mr.* Baxter) *of one among a multitude that comes to this fearful paſs by any other way, than firſt turning to* Anabaptiſtry and Separation, *and then to vilifie the Miniſtry, and then who knows whither?* Thus Mr. *Baxter.*

On the like conſideration it was undoubtedly, that St. *Auguſtine* taught, *That there was ſcarce any thing ſo bad as Schiſm*, Ep. contra Parm. *not Idolatry*, *ſays* Dionyſ. ap. Euſ. l. 6. *not Sacriledge*, *ſays* Optatus l. 1. *'tis the Original of Evils*, *ſays* Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. *a heap of Evils*, *ſays Mr.* Baxter *of* Church-diviſions, Cure, Pref.

And in conſideration of all this, what State-Phyſician but will judge the coërcive means as ſalutary to the Body Politick, in caſe of ſuch State-Convulſions, as the preſent Separation cauſeth, as diſmembring is to the Body Natural in caſes of Gangrenes. And 'tis ob-

obſerved that of late years, while the *Oxford* Act and other pœnal Laws were put in execution, 'tis notoriouſly known how quiet they were. 'Tis true they would pleaſe themſelves with their *Gloriola's* concerning Perſecution, as they called their juſt puniſhment, would congratulate to one another their ſufferings, as for Chriſts ſake, though it were for diſobedience to Chriſt's Precept and Example, as well pleaſed with that love and pity which the noiſe of Perſecution gains to their perſons and perſuaſions; but all this while they were quiet, deſiring nothing but the exerciſe and liberty of the Conventicle. And no ſooner had they gain'd this point, but by degrees, as their liberty increaſed, their number increaſed, and their intereſt increaſed, and their inſolence increaſed which hath now at laſt improved its ſelf into ſuch libellings and licentious diſcourſings, as can be interpreted little leſs than præludes of Rebellion. So that what Biſhop *Jewell* ſaid of *Cartwright* the Father of the Non-conformiſts, may fitly be ſaid of theſe his childiſh Followers, *Folly is bound up in their froward hearts, and 'tis the Rod of Correction muſt fetch it out*; The Non-conformity-Faction being always obſerved to have this Hydropical humour of increaſing by being indulg'd, which makes them juſt as fit to be indulg'd as a deſperate Dropſie which is exaſperated by mitigations. But the unreaſonableneſs of Non-conformiſts Plea for Toleration, and complaints of Sufferings in being reſtrained, will ſufficiently appear, by conſidering diſtinctly the Perſons ſuffering, and the Things ſuffered. The Perſons ſuffering, are 1. Such who at the ſame time revile the Government, reproach and expoſe their Governours, managing their pretence of Conſcience in ſuch an invective way as makes their complaints and clamours more like matter of ſuperiority than of ſcruple. 2. They

Criſcit indulgens ſibi dirus hydrops. Hor.

2. They are ſuch as have kept days of Prayer and Thankſgiving for Victories over the King; have preached the People into Rebellion againſt him, have preached from him his Arms and Money, Laws and Credit, Liberty and Life, and in the moſt ſolemn manner have juſtified all when they have done, and after this, endeavoured all they could to keep this preſent King out of his Throne. That Mr. *Baxter's Holy Commonwealth* was wrote to that very end and purpoſe will appear to any that compares the time of his publiſhing it, (which his Book was wrote as he ſays, *P.* 120. to ſatisfie the demands and doubts of) which was the Year 1659. when the grand point in doubt was, whether the King ſhould be reſtored or no. He that compares this with thoſe three *Theſeſes* 145,146,147. where he hints that the King was juſtly diſpoſſeſſed, as by a lawful War, that being conquered by the People, they were not obliged to reſtore him, nay though he had been diſpoſſeſſed unjuſtly, yet it was not the duty of Subjects to ſeek his reſtitution. I ſay theſe things compared with that vital circumſtance (*viz.*) the time of writing it, make it evident that the deſign of it was only this, to keep out the King: But

2. The Unreaſonableneſs of Non-conformiſts Plea for Toleration and complaint of Sufferings, will further appear by conſidering the things ſuffered. Conſider it in the Compariſon, and in it ſelf.

1. In compariſon of what the Conforming Clergy ſuffered under them. Their ſufferings in the Uſurpation times will appear to be little leſs than thoſe of the *Spaniſh Inquiſition*, or the *Marian Perſecution*, to any that reads but (1.) the Bill of Mortality of the Clergy of *London*, wherein we have account of 115 turned out of their Livings, Plundered of their Goods, their Wives

Wives and Children ſent a begging, whereof above 40 were Doctors in Divinity, 20 impriſoned in *London* and the Ships, 25 fled to eſcape impriſonment, 22 died with grief in Priſons and remote places. The Proteſtants Remonſtrance recounts many more alike ſufferers in the Country, both which together ſhew that there were more ſuffered by Ejecting, Sequeſtring, and barbarous plundering by the Presbyterians in three Years time, then did by the Papiſts in all Queen *Maries* Reign. But (2.) Conſider what their ſuffering is in it ſelf, and it will appear to be little elſe but a ſelf-ſilencing, meerly becauſe they cannot get priviledge above the peaceable and loyal Sons of the Church. I call it a ſelf-ſilencing, becauſe all that the Law doth is to hold forth one common rule indifferently to all: every man hath the conditions of his Freedom tendered him, which are ſuch as themſelves have for the moſt part acquitted from all intrinſick turpitude or ſin; and he that will not comply with theſe conditions, ſilences himſelf; beſide, 'tis not the Man that is ſilenced neither, but onely this or that irregular Practice or Opinion, which the Magiſtrate ſeeing inſuperable neceſſity for, hath authority from God to regulate and reſtrain. Moreover their Plea in this matter is no more than what Diſſenters of all ſorts may uſe, ſo that if Rulers may be judge, they are to be ſuppreſſed; if the People muſt be judge, then Papiſts, Quakers, *&c.* muſt be tolerated alſo. *And ſuch Liberty* (ſaith Mr. *Baxter*) *in matters of Worſhip and Faith, is the way to ſet up Popery in the Land.* But let Non-Conformiſts Scruples be what they will, if it ſeem good to our Rulers to put the reſtraint upon them, I humbly recommend to them that good advice of Mr. *Baxter*; *See to this my Brethren,* (ſaith he) *that none of you ſuffer as an evil-doer, or as a buſie-body in other*

Plea for Peace, Preface.

other mens matters, as a reſiſter of the commands of lawful Authority, as ungrateful to thoſe that have been inſtruments of our good, as evil ſpeakers againſt dignities, as oppoſers of the diſcipline and ordinances of Chriſt, as ſcornful revilers of your Chriſtian Brethren, as reproachers of a laborious and judicious Miniſtry. Saints Reſt. *p.* 131. examining well whether the grounds and reaſons of their ſufferings be not the ſame as that of Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuites, (*viz.*) not their religious Principle, but their ſeditious Practice, encouraging People to tumultuate and rebel, by rendering the Government and Governours odious, by teaching (as Mr. *Baxter* doth in his Plea for Peace) that 'tis not in the power of Princes to forbid * Miniſters preaching, (as much as to ſay,) 'tis lawful to reſiſt the King's Authority in defence of the Conventicle.

* The King forbids none preaching, only regulates preaching.

2. *Grindallizing.*

A ſecond thing that promotes the intereſt and increaſe of Separation is Grindallizing. By *Grindallizers* I mean the Conforming Non-conformiſts, or rather ſuch as are Conformiſts in their Profeſſion, Half-Conformiſts in their practice, Non-conformiſts in their judgment, like the old Gnoſtick-Separatiſts which the Apoſtle calls ∴ *double minded men*; or like the Sinner in *Eccl.* 2.13. that looks two manner of ways, or like the Haven in *Creet*, *Acts* 27.12. that bows and bends to the South and to the North, to the Church of *England*, and to the Kirk of *Scotland*, as intereſt and opportunity ſhall incline.

∴ *Jam.* 1. 8. *Jam.* 4. 8.

Theſe are they which down with all Oaths and Subſcriptions required, though what they ſwallow whole in their Subſcriptions, they mince and mangle in their practice, they conform to all ſeemingly, but hypocritically; mangle

mangle the Common-Prayer, handle the Surplice gently, plow ſo cunningly with their Ox and Aſs together, carry it ſo cunningly that they can ſcarce be known, but *per modum opinionis*, by their open compliances with the Enemies of the Church, by their *Gallioniſm* in defending the Orders and Ceremonies of the Church, and other matters of Conformity, which require their proportion of Zeal and Reſolution, by their hearing with patience and unconcernedneſs, the intereſt, honour, and peace of the Church run down by ſwaggering Sectaries; by their talking Conformity and Nonconformity with ſuch compaſſionate and ſerious *innuendo's* as may ſufficiently ſignifie their favourable opinion of, if not good will to their Cauſe, by their defending the popular Election of Biſhops, by ambiguouſly repreſenting the ſeparation, as if it were no Schiſm; by their writing fraudulent Pleas for the Non-conformiſts; by endeavouring to acquit the Presbyterians and Independents of the King's Murder; and *in ſtatu quo*, by their Votes in chuſing Parliaments and Convocations, by their being *à ſecretis* with profeſt Non-conformiſts, by their Self-deſigning compliances with them, under pretence of Moderation, *&* *ſimilibus*; whereby they contribute as much to the encouragement of Diſſenters, as the profeſſed Encouragers themſelves; like King *Charls*'s Presbyterian Murderers, who had the Villany to manage the contrivance, but the Cunning to diſappear in the Execution. Theſe Half-Conformiſts are the verieſt Church-Moles, that by their blind Principles and undermining Practices contribute little leſs to the increaſe and intereſt of Non-conformity, to the danger and diſhonour of the Church, than the open Enemy, whether Popiſh or Peeviſh. And of this we have frequent inſtances, particularly in Archbiſhop *Grindal*, whoſe indulgence

to that Party, gave them the firſt revival in *England*, by his conniving at the Half-Conformiſts of *Yorkſhire*, by his complying firſt with *Beza* in procuring a French Church ſetled in *London* on the *Geneva* Principle. And afterwards with thoſe, who upon their return from *Geneva*, *Franckford*, and other places (where they lived during the *Marian* Perſecution) were preferred in the Church, where they lived for ſome time Half-Conformiſts, as *Cartwright* Miniſter in *Warwick*, *Whittingham* Dean of *Durham*, *Sampſon* Dean of *Chriſt Church*, afterwards turned out for Non-conformity, with great numbers preferred to Cures in City and Country; where they were not wanting to prepare the People for ſuch Innovations as were in after-time to be brought into the Church, and by the profeſt Non-conformiſts. As ſoon as ſafety and impunity permitted, they broke out into open Schiſm, and ſtill when the Laws juſt ſeverity frighted them, they crept within the Pale of the Church, ſeeming to conform, that they might have the Laws protection to ſhelter their contempt of Authority, and under the wing of Epiſcopacy to breed up their Presbytery. When Archbiſhop *Whitgift*'s zeal and induſtry had reduced them to that, that in all probability their ruptures were crumbling to nothing, their then refuge was (as *Beza* adviſed in his Letter to *Cartwright*) *to unite themſelves again to the main body of the Church*, there to be nurtured into contempt of the Churches Government under the indulgence of its Governours. And of this kind of Half-Conformiſts are thoſe who at this very day, by outward Conformity have opportunity, and by masked Non-conformity want not will through ſneaking compliance to betray the Church into her Enemies hands, and themſelves (though they know it not) into the verieſt contempt and ſlavery;

ſo.

ſo that in this contemplation we might (as the Church of old did by the Waters of *Babylon*) ſit down and weep when we remember *Zion*. *Zion* (ſaith the Prophet) tearing her ſelf with her own hands. Or as the Tree in the Apologue, that was rent and ſplint, and torn aſunder by Wedges that came out of its own ſides. Therefore as we would not hypocritize and diſſemble with God and Man, as we would not be found Church-Traytors, that have eſpouſed a Cauſe which we are afraid to defend, and aſhamed to own; as we would not be found in conſpiracy againſt our ſelves, and in breach of thoſe ſolemn Oaths took at our entrance into the Miniſtry, by a daſtardly compliance with our own and the Churches Enemies; Let us every man to his Tents, O *Iſrael*, with reſolution and courage in gain-ſaying Seducers, in daring to look Faction in the Face, and oppoſing it, though never ſo inſolent and domineering; according to the advice of Mr. *Calvin* to *Bucer*, that he ſhould take care to avoid *moderate* counſels in matters of Religion, intimating the intenſe zeal that is required in Miniſters in order to the intereſt and honour of the Church: remembring that of the Wiſe man, *Eccl.* 2. 13. *Wo unto them that have a fearful heart, and to the faint hands, and to the ſinner that goeth two manner of ways.*

3. *Their Zeal againſt Popery, a third Expedient.*

So odious is Popery now in *England*, (bleſſed be God for it) that even Children will ſpit at the very naming of it: ſo that a better pretence could never be for the ſetting up of Presbytery, than a ſhew of the greateſt Zeal againſt Popery: and therefore hath it been always accounted the moſt neceſſary Tool in the framing of Innovations.

Camd. Eliz. Acr. Red.

When the Earl of *Bothwel*, having a mind to the Crown of *Scotland*, could not bring to pass the murder of the King by his dealing with the Witch of *Keith*, nor by his assaulting him first at *Haly-rood*, and afterward at *Falkland*, his last expedient was to join himself with the Presbyterians, and act hand in hand with them zealously against Popery; and under that holy guise attempted openly to assassinate the King. 'Tis well known how the very force of this Word (Popishly affected) blew up three Kingdoms but t'other day; hurrying People from the fear of Popery to the prostitution of Christianity it self; when to palliate their hellish out-rages against the King, they feared not to tax even him of Popery, who had said and done as much to satisfie the World of his detestation of Popery, and true zeal for the Reformed Religion, as the wit of man could devise, or the malice of man demand, as doth abundantly appear by his Royal Declaration or *Manifesto* sent from *Oxford* in 1644. And at this day a fiery zeal against Popery is the best expedient they have; 'tis that single pretext that supports their Cause; to accuse Governours or Government of Popery is an expedient that in *England* never yet failed to render them odious to the multitude.

Now that the design of these groundless out-cries against Popery is not so much to keep down Popery, as to promote Presbytery, will appear very probable to any that shall but examine the way and manner of their exercising this Zeal, which is threefold.

1. Branding with the Name of Papist, or Popishly affected, every one that is not of, or at least that sets himself against their Principle and Practice. Archbishop *Whitgift*, a Prelate of the greatest Piety and Learn-

Learning, eminent for his zeal againſt Popery, yet becauſe againſt Presbytery alſo, they ſtiled him *Beelzebub of Canterbury*, *Pope of Lambeth*, *a monſtruous Antichriſtianiſm Pope*, *&c.* and but the other day in *Smith's Proteſtant Intelligence*, the King's Council is called *Popiſh*; of the 26 Biſhops, four are called *Proteſtant*, and all the reſt *Popiſh*. To that paſs are things now brought that whoever will not ſide, vote, and petition as they would have them; whoever ſpeaks reverently of the Orthodox Clergy, of the Order and Diſcipline of the Churches of *England*, in vindication of loyal Epiſcopacy againſt a confuſed and factious Presbytery, is preſently a *Tory* and *Popiſhly affected*: and why all this, but for a Blind or Stratagem to blend and confound Popery and Prelacy, that People may not diſtinguiſh, but deſtroy one under the name and pretence of the other.

I ſhall not inſiſt upon the Malice and Diaboliſm of theſe ſlanderous imputations, it will ſomewhat diſcover their deſign, if we do but take notice what little reaſon they have thus to traduce our Church and Church Rulers; conſidering theſe two things:

I. That their correſpondency of Principles and Practices with the Church of *Rome*, ſo far as they are erroneous and dangerous, is ſo very apparent to any that underſtand Popery. *Ex.gr.*

1. Both equally deny the King's Supremacy. The Papiſt ſaith, not the King but the Pope is Supream; the Presbyter ſaith, not the King, but the Parliament. Prove (ſaith Mr. *Baxter*) that the King is the higher Power, and I'le offer my head to Juſtice as a Rebel. And *Calvin* in his Comment upon *Amos cap. 7. v. 13.* calls them inconſiderate men that had conferred the Supremacy on King *Henry* VIII. H. Commonwealth. Pref.

2. The Pope ſaith, an Heretical, *i.e.* a Proteſtant King Bellarm de Pontif. l. 3. c. 7.

King is to be depoſed. The Presbyterian ſays, 'tis lawful and commendable to fight againſt the King for Religion, to depoſe him, ſays *Baxter*. And *Martin Mar-Prelate* in his ſecond Book, adviſes the Parliament to put down the Biſhops whether the Queen would or no.

Call before the Parliam. Dec. 25 1644. Pol. Apho. Theſ. 358. with 368.

3. *Papiſts* ſay, Heretical, *i.e. Proteſtant Kings may be not onely depoſed, but killed by their Subjects. Presbyterians* ſay the ſame, *Miniſters may excommunicate Princes; and after a King is by Excommunication caſt into Hell, he is unworthy to live upon Earth*, ſays *Buchanan*. *Guignard* the Jeſuit hath it, France *is ſick and they muſt cut the baſilick vein to heal her*. The *Presbyter* hath the ſame words concerning King *Charles* the Firſt, *Wound that Hazael under the fifth rib, you muſt ſtrike the baſilick vein, none but it can heal the Pluriſie of State*. And Mr. *Love*, *O that our State Phyſicians would imitate God in cutting off from the Land thoſe that have diſtempered it*, meaning the King, as his next words ſhew, *præſtat unus pereat quam unitas*. And accordingly they have practiſed, as will be ſhewn in its proper place.

Buchan. de jure Reg. p. 70.

Zion's Plea.

Serm. at Uxbridge Treaty

4. They both proceed in the ſame method; The *Pope* firſt Excommunicates, then Depoſes, then Murders. The *Presbyter* firſt Depoſes the King, then Murders *Charles Stuart*.

5. They agree in ſo much as time; The *Jeſuit*, *i.e.* the *bloudy Papiſt* and the *Presbyter* are both of an age, the year 1535. is remarkable for the *Geneva Diſcipline*, and the ſpawning of the *Jeſuits Order*.

6. *Papiſts* teach, *That Truce is not to be kept with Hereticks*, i.e. *Proteſtants*. *Presbyterians* teach, *That Promiſe is not to be kept when——the preaching of the truth*, i.e. *Presbytery is hindered*. See their Marg. Not. on *Matth.* 2. 12.

7. Both

7. Both will reproach and ſlander, plunder and ſequeſter, kill and ſlay for the Churches good; though the Apoſtle ſays, *We muſt not do evil that good may come thereby.*

8. Both agree in that Principle, that *Dominion is founded in Grace.*

9. 'Tis the buſineſs of them both in Proteſtant Kingdoms, by ill interpreting their Princes actions, by ſlandering, libelling, and the like means, to draw Subjects from their Allegiance.

10. The *Jeſuits* call themſelves the *Saintly Brotherhood, the Church of* Rome, *the onely true Church*, and all *Hereticks* beſide themſelves. The *Presbyterians* call'd themſelves formerly *the Godly Party*, and all others *Malignants*. Now the *People of God, the Zealous Proteſtants*, and all others *Carnal, Superſtitious, Formaliſts, Popiſhly affected, &c.*

11. The Papiſts formerly Plot, Rebell, and Maſſacre, by entering into a Covenant, called *the Holy League*, (as in the Maſſacre at *Paris*, and Rebellion againſt King *Henry* the Third). The *Presbyterian* did the ſame by entering into a Covenant, called *the Solemn League*, (as in *England* and *Scotland* againſt King *Charles* the Firſt).

12. *Papiſts* warring againſt King *Henry* the Third of *France*, in performance of their *Holy League*, have frequent Faſtings, doubled devotions, to perſuade weak Conſciences that they aimed at nothing but the ſetting up of Chriſt's Kingdom, and to inſtruct them to cut their Kings throat, as for the love of God, and the gaining of Paradiſe. *Presbyters* in warring againſt King *Charles* in performance of their *Solemn League* had frequent days of Humiliation and Thankſgiving for ſucceſs in fighting againſt the King. The *Papiſts Holy League* and the *Presbyters Solemn League* were both

French Hiſt. of Presbyt. p 88.

French Hiſt. of Presbyt. p. 88, 89.

both entered, upon a groundleſs jealouſie of the King's Religion. In both there is a League with Strangers, and Armies raiſed in the Kingdom againſt their natural Sovereign: who gave them no occaſion of the War, but the too much gentleneſs and condeſcenſions of them both. In both the Fire of Civil War was blown about by ſeditious Preachers.

13. *Papiſts* and *Presbyterians* both in their diſtinct Parties do ſtill combine againſt the Government.

14. Both for many years have been the great diſturbers of the Peace of all Chriſtendom. *Tell me* (ſays a late Gentile Writer) *of any Maſſacre, or bloudy Wars, or Stratagems againſt the Magiſtrate, of any Treaſon or Rebellion whatever, within the memory of man, but what was carried on by one of theſe two Parties, Papiſts or Presbyterians, and I'le be content to undergo the bloudy Inquiſition of the one, and the fate of the two Archbiſhops,* Canterbury *and* St. Andrews, *murdered by the other.*

Mach. Rediv. p. 71.

Now if they will go no further from the Church of *Rome* than ſhe hath gone from the Truth, let them ſhew, if they can, half ſo many parallels between the Church of *England* and of *Rome*. 'Tis true indeed, the Churches of *England* retain ſome things that are in uſe in the Church of *Rome*; but muſt we disbelieve and diſuſe every thing as *Popiſh* that the *Papiſts* believe and uſe, then muſt we not believe that Chriſt is the Meſſias; then muſt we renounce the Word, Sacraments, and Prayer, becauſe the Papiſts believe and uſe them. But if we will depart no further from the Church in Reformation, than ſhe departs from the Truth in Corruption, let the Non-conformiſts ſhew, if they can, wherein the Church of *England* agrees with that of *Rome* in half ſo many erroneous Principles and dangerous Practices as the Non-conformiſt doth.

doth. What reaſon then have they ſo to curſe a Church which the Lord hath bleſſed? *Her Siſters* (the Reformed Churches) *all calling her bleſſed, and joying to behold her order and ſtedfaſtneſs in Chriſt*; ſo to ſtigmatize with the brand of *Popiſh*, all that are not peeviſh and turbulent like themſelves. Col. 2. 5.

II. What Reaſon have they for it, conſidering what great things the Epiſcopal Divines have done and ſuffered above them all along from the beginning of the Reformation to this day, in deteſtation of Popery, and atteſtation of the Reformed Religion as now profeſſed in the Church of *England*, ſome laying down their lives to teſtifie againſt Popery, as *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, *Latimer*, *&c.* others ſtanding in the Gap upon all occaſions to oppoſe the return of it with moſt eminent abilities and greateſt zeal above what Non-conformiſts can pretend to. In the beginning of the Reformation, when *Calvin* ſent to *Cranmer*, and after that to the Protector *Seymour* to offer his aſſiſtance, they rejected him utterly; ſo that neither he, nor any of the Conſiſtorian Principle, had any hand in the firſt Reformation in *England*; or have any of them ever ſince done any thing comparable to what the Epiſcopal Divines have againſt Popery. 'Tis true, Mr. *Baxter*, *Pool*, and two or three more of them have done their parts, but what to thoſe many of the Church of *England*, *Uſher*, *Hall*, *Morton*, *Reignolds*, *Chillingworth*, *Laud*, *Abbot*, *Jewel*, *Bramhall*, *Barlow*, all Biſhops, beſide *Hammond*, *White*, *Buckeridge*, *Sutcliff*, *Stillingfleet*, *Tillotſon*, and many others of our Churches education, of as great Learning and Judgment in Religion, as holy Lives, and as comfortable Conſciences, as any the World affords, which one would think enough to make Malice it ſelf aſhamed to charge the Church or Church-men of *England* with any thing

like *Popery*, or *Popiſhly affected*. Add to this:

III. If the Church or Church-men be any thing Popiſhly affected, how comes it to paſs that the twiſted ſtrength and ſubtlety of Papiſts, with all their helliſh malice, is engaged chiefly againſt them as their mortal enemies, as though nothing ſtood in their way but the Church of *England*, that hath the countenance of Laws and Reaſon, Antiquity and Decency to ſupport it; never regarding Quakers or Non-conformiſts, as though it were below the wit of a *Jeſuit* to encounter a *Non-conformiſt*, as one that's doing the *Popes* buſineſs, yet will not be made believe it. Now theſe three things conſidered, judge who will, what reaſon diſſenting Proteſtants have to brand with the name of *Popiſh* or *Popiſhly affected*, the Church or Church-men of *England*. And if ſo, whether it be not probable that by their factious and extravagant zeal againſt Popery, they deſign not onely the overthrow of Popery, but the increaſe of their Party, and the promotion of their Intereſt alſo. But once more,

IV. If there be any Church of *England* men Popiſhly affected, I heartily wiſh in the Apoſtles words, ὄφελον ἀποκόψονται, that they were utterly cut off from among us; and here will every true Church of *England* man ſay heartily, *Amen*.

Gal. 5. 12.

A Second way that they have of exerting their zeal againſt Popery (whereby they increaſe their Party, and promote their Intereſt) is to amuſe the People with the Fears and Jealouſies of a Popiſh Revolution. I confeſs this being purely *politicæ conſiderationis*, is beyond my Province, but with humble deference to Superiours, ſuppoſe we the worſt, even that of a *Popiſh Succeſſor*, yet have we many good allays to the extravagance of that Jealouſie, (*viz.*) all Offices and Power being in the hands of Anti-Papiſts, there being

ſo

ſo many ſtrict Laws in force againſt Popery, and the King's offer and readineſs to concur in making more, or any other thing (that is lawful juſt and honeſt) to ſecure us againſt it.

To inſtance in the revolution of Queen *Maries* reign is vain; for there being now in the two Kingdoms ſo univerſal a deteſtation and loathing of Popery (which was not then) what Prince in the World would offer to ſet up that Religion ſo much againſt his own intereſt, ſo utter inconſiſtent with his quiet and ſafety, and which will ſo certainly involve him into continual fears and troubles, moſt deſperate dangers and inconveniences, as that which, next to Hell, is moſt formidable and abominable to almoſt all his Subjects, and that which they will ſcarce ever be brought to ſubmit to. Upon theſe and many the like conſiderations wiſe men think it not adviſeable to forward a Popiſh revolution by exaſperating the Heir to the Crown with the factious and unneceſſary fears of a Popiſh ſucceſſion, and to abandon our quiet and ſecurity for meer future poſſibilities, to make our ſelves certainly miſerable before-hand for fear of being miſerable hereafter. Like *Gundamore* the Spaniſh Ambaſſadour, who procured a valiant Engliſh Knight to be put to death, (as he ſaid) not for any hurt he had done, but for fear of doing hurt.

3. A third way they have of exerting their zeal againſt Popery (whereby they increaſe their Intereſt and Party) is by appropriating to themſelves the reputation of *the* zealous Proteſtants, and greateſt oppoſers of Popery: which will appear as impudent a cheat as it is a falſhood, (if by zeal and oppoſing, we mean not factious, but onely ſuch as is of regular and religious tendency to the overthrow of it,) when 'tis conſidered:

1. How abundantly the Epiſcopal Divines have out-done them in oppoſing and keeping out Popery; (as hath been noted before) to which I add, that of Dr. *Saunderſon*, *That all along from the beginning of the Reformation, our Biſhops with others of the Prelatick Party were the Principal, if not the only Champions to maintain the cauſe of Religion againſt Popery, and in theſe latter times none have ſtept in the Gap more readily, nor championed the cauſe of Religion againſt Popery with more dexterity, zeal and gallantry than the Epiſcopal Divines, by whoſe endeavours ſome that have been bred Papiſts have been gained to our Church, others that began to waver, were confirmed and ſetled in the Proteſtant Religion*; *but I profeſs* (ſays he) *as in the preſence of Almighty God, and before the World, that I have not known, or at leaſt cannot call to remembrance, ſo much as one ſingle example of any of this done by any of our Anti-ceremonian Brethren, whether Presbyterian or Independent.* But

Pref. to his Serm. §. 17.

2. Theſe Non-conformiſts are ſo far from being the truly zealous oppoſers of Popery, that (as the ſame Dr. *Saunderſon* obſerves) *they are really and eventually (though not intentionally) the great Promoters of the Roman Intereſt among us, and that ſeveral ways.*

Pref. to his Serm. §. 18.

1. *By putting to their helping hand to the pulling down of Epiſcopacy* (the main Bulwark againſt Popery, as having the ſupport of Laws, Reaſon, Scripture and Antiquity againſt it). *'Tis well known* (ſays he) *what rejoicing that Vote (againſt Epiſcopacy) brought to the Romiſh Party, how in* Rome *they ſang their* Io Pæans *upon the tidings thereof, ſaying triumphantly, now the day is ours, now the fatal blow is given to the Proteſtant Religion in* England; *they could not but foreſee that if the old Government (of* England) *a main pillar in the Building were once diſſolved, the whole Fabrick would be*

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ſore ſhaken, if not preſently ſhattered and ruined, that things would preſently run into confuſion, diſtractions and diviſions, (as the event ſoon ſhewed.)

2. They promote the Intereſt of *Rome* (ſays that learned Author) *by oppoſing it with more violence than reaſon; in oppoſing Popery* (he obſerves) *the Epiſcopal Divines have done it by dint of Argument, the Non-conformiſts by opprobrious clamours, revilings, &c. ſo that it hath been obſerved* (ſays he) *that in* Lancaſhire, *and other places, where there are moſt and moſt rigid Presbyterians, there are the moſt and moſt zealous Papiſts.* Thus that judicious and learned Prelate.

3. Non-conformiſts promote Popery by cauſing thoſe diviſions in the Church which Jeſuits have endeavoured among us, as more conducible to Popery than all their ſtrength of Argument; as is ſaid to be determined at *Rome* in their *concilium de propaganda fide.* And as Mr. *Baxter* obſerves (in his Collections out of *Contzen* the Jeſuite, and in his *Defence of the Principles of Love.*) *Popery will grow* (ſays he) *out of our diviſions; thouſands have been drawn to, and confirmed in it by this means. I am perſuaded* (ſays he) *that all the arguments in* Bellarmine *and other Books, have not done ſo much to make Papiſts in* England, *as our Diviſions and multiplied Sects.* And afterward, *who ſees not how fair a game the Papiſts have to play by our diviſions?* Archbiſhop *Whitgift* in his Letter to the Lord Treaſurer, and Dr. *Oats* in his Narrative, and others ſpeak it as upon their own perſonal knowledge, that the Diſſenters have been animated to Non-conformity by the Jeſuits. It hath been lately made out by a Peer of this Realm, that their *making a Court-party and a Country-party, and fomenting fears and jealouſies between both, was an expedient agreed upon in* France, *and ſent over into* England, *for the promoting of Popiſh Intereſts.* And in

Pol. Aph.

Fuller.

Seaſonable Addreſs to the Parl. *p.* 8.

in Queen *Elizabeths* time, as ſoon as ever the Puritan
Cambd.Eliz. had made the Schiſm, over came *Sanders* and *Harding* into *England*, and practiſed in that ſort as proſelyted many to the Church of *Rome*.

4. They promote Popery by vilifying the Church and Church-men of *England*; when in Queen *Elizabeths* time they traduced Archbiſhop *Whitgift* (that great and pious Prelate) calling him *Beelzebub of Canterbury*, *Pope of Lambeth*, *bloudy oppoſer of Gods Saints*, *Eſau*, *Antichriſtian Beaſt*, *&c.* and the reſt of the Biſhops as *Petty-Popes*, *the Ordinance of the Devil*, *paultry Prelates*, *peſtilent Uſurpers*; in the Convocation they called them *Clergy-maſters of the Confocation-houſe*, *Monſters of the Conſpiration-houſe*, *the Convocation houſe of Devils*, *and Beelzebub of Canterbury the chief*: and when they called the inferiour Clergy *Dolts* and *Drunkards*, *Hogs* and *Dogs*, *Wolves* and *Foxes*, *Simoniacks* and *Uſurpers*, *&c.* See what advantage the Papiſts made of this; *Parſons* in his Book of *Three Converſions*, reports theſe Slanders and Calumnies for undoubted Truths. *Martin Mar-Prelate* is ſaid by Sir *Edwin Sandys* to paſs in thoſe days for unqueſtioned Credit in the Court of *Rome*, and his authority much inſiſted on to diſgrace the Proteſtant Religion. *Kelliſon* a later one doth build as much on the credit of theſe Libellers to defame the Reformed Religion, as if they had been inſpired by ſome infallible Spirit. And *Ma-*
Lib.3. cap.16. *ſon* tells it as a ſerious thing, *Appellant Epiſcopum Cantuarienſem Pſeudo-epiſcopum*, *Principem Dæmoniorum*, *Caiapham*, *Eſaum*, *Monſtroſum*, *&c.* *Alios autem Epiſcopos Angliæ*, *degeneres*, *pernicioſos*, *Uſurpatores*, *Lupos*, *Epiſcopos Diaboli*, *&c.* Now upon theſe conſiderations, judge who will, what reaſon theſe men have to charge the Church or Church-men of *England* as fautoring of Popery, to amuſe the People with fears and jealou-

jealouſies concerning it, and to arrogate to themſelves the reputation of the moſt zealous oppoſers of it, and yet by exerting their zeal theſe three ways they have ſtrengthened their Faction and promoted their intereſt in Church and State.

4. *Their Veneration to the Scriptures pretended above others.*

Another way by which they increaſe their Party and Intereſt, is the great veneration which they above others pretend to have for the Holy Scriptures, their confident appeals to Scripture, as Judge of their Controverſie, and conſtant retreat to it for defence of their Cauſe; teaching their Followers (even in matters of indifferency which the Scriptures are ſilent in, and leave to humane prudence) to ſwagger with the demand, *Where do you find in Scripture ſuch precept or example?* And this to the more unwary and leſs knowing Profeſſors, is one thouſand Arguments, and as apt to take with them as any thing. Now there are three things among others which do much liable this pretence to hypocriſie and deluſion. 1. Their groſs perverting and miſinterpreting of Scripture, beyond what the Papiſts themſelves do. 2. The impracticableneſs and errour of demanding a Scripture-Text for the very externals of Gods worſhip. 3. Their diſregard and ſlight of thoſe Scriptures (though ſpeaking never ſo plainly) which contradict their errours and practices.

1. Their perverting and miſinterpreting of Scripture; when Fathers and Councils, Reaſon, Antiquity and Scripture fail them, then a good Gloſs muſt ſerve for a Text, vexing and urging the Holy Writ, which the Apoſtle calls emphatically Κυβεία, *i. e.* cogging Eph. 4. 14.

ging the Die to make it ſpeak what they liſt; and
2 Cor. 4. 2. Παναυργία, *i. e.* crafty deceitful applying and expounding it. Thus by *Babylon* they underſtand Epiſcopacy, by beggarly Elements they mean Church-Ceremonies; they juſtifie their out-rages againſt the late King and Nobility, with a *Bind your Kings with chains, and your Nobles with fetters of iron*; they have commented Rebellion out of the very thirteenth of the *Romans*, which enjoins Subjection and Loyalty upon pain of damnation, and have fetcht Presbytery out of the firſt of *Titus ver.* 5. which plainly exhibits the very eſſentials of Epiſcopacy. The Murder of the late King they have out of *Daniel*'s Dream, and from the Beaſt and the little Horn in the *Revelations*; and becauſe the Apoſtle ſays *Moſes was faithful in all the houſe of God*, therefore there muſt be nothing in the externals of God's Worſhip but what you have a Text for; for the like reaſon that that ignorant Popiſh Prieſt urged out of the *Pſalms, Paveant illi non paveam ego*, to prove his Pariſhioners ought to pave the Chancel. Look in the *Geneva* Bibles, their Note on *Rev.* 9. 3. you will find that by the Locuſts which came out of the Smoak (they ſay) is meant falſe Teachers, worldly ſubtle Prelates, Monks, Friers, Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, *Doctors, Batchelors, Maſters, (to which is ſubjoined) *which forſake Chriſt to maintain falſe Doctrine*; where they bring all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and all that take Univerſity Degrees, under the name of Locuſts, and rank them with Monks and Friars, whom they beheld as no other than the limbs of

Dr. *Hammond* obſerves that that Γνῶσις from whence the firſt Non-conformiſts, the Gnoſticks, had their names, ſignifies ſuch a knowledge as was the interpreting the myſteries of the Scripture after their own fanſie, (erroneouſly.) Annot. on the N. Teſt. Poſtſcript concerning New-light, p. 12. lin. 6. preliminary to *Matthew*.

* This Tranſlation was made about the time that *Cartwright* (who had a hand in it) was denied his Doctors Degree, and driven out of *Cambridge* by Doctor *Whitgift* then Vicechancellor.

of Antichriſt. One would think that that Curſe at the end of the * *Revelations*, ſhould make them afraid ſo to wrack Scripture-Texts, thoſe † God-breathed Oracles, to make them obſtetricate to their Impieties, and confeſs ſuch abominable falſities. But thus it was *ab origine*, The Donatiſts juſtified their ſeparation with that 1 *Cant.* 7. *Tell us where thou makeſt thy Flocks to reſt at Noon, Meridiem verſus*, the French Tranſlation is, towards the South: therefore they being Southern confine the Church of God to themſelves, and ſeparate from the Orthodox Chriſtian Churches. And we know who it was that firſt practiſed this Art, by the manner of his urging our Saviour with a *Scriptum eſt*, in all his temptations, *Matth.*4.

* Laſt Chap. Ver. 18.
† 2 Tim. 3.16.

2. A ſecond thing that liables their pretended veneration for the Scriptures above other men, to the ſuſpicion of ſeducing, is their frequent uſe of demanding Scripture-Texts for every thing in the Diſcipline and Orders of the Church, denying Church-rulers the power of appointing Ceremonies. Before I come to ſpeak of the deluſion of this pretence, I would premiſe ſomething concerning its errour, which did not the conſtant practice of the Seduced require, it were a ſhame to take notice of, it hath been ſo oft refuted by *Grotius*, *Morton*, *Sanderſon*, and others, ſhewing;

1. That even in the Jewiſh Church (from whence they fetch this doctrine) in which God did by immediate Revelation preſcribe the Rites and Orders of his Worſhip, even in that Church the Magiſtrate had a power in the Circumſtantials of Religion. *David* altered ſome things, and inſtituted others, he appointed Inſtrumental Muſick to be uſed in the Worſhip of God, without any Commiſſion from God that we read of. He diſtributed the Prieſts into Orders for the conveniency of their Miniſtration, yet 'twas not

1 Chron. 23. 5, 6.

not accounted any innovation in Religion. *Hezekiah* caused the Passover to be kept in all *Judah* and *Israel* on the second Moneth, on the advice of his Council, upon prudential and pious considerations, though not according to any Divine Institution. He appointed the Levites to kill the Passover, which by God's appointment was to be done by the People. He preferred the Levites to assist the Priests in killing the other Sacrifices, which before they were never admitted to; and all this was afterward retained in use without reprehension. By all which, it appears that the Magistrate had once a power of ordering matters in God's Worship, and that, even in times when God prescribed the rites and orders of his Worship by immediate revelation. And in the New Testament, the Apostle's circumcising *Timothy* after Circumcision had been abolish'd, shews that all ceremonial appendages are but subordinate, and ought to yield to the designs of Peace, Charity, and Edification. The same Apostle in prescribing Church-Orders, leaves out particulars, prescribes onely generals, (*viz.*) Obedience to Rulers, doing things decently and in order, to edification and the like. Now all the question is, who shall be Judge of that decency, order, and edification? The Scriptures cannot, for they no where determine it: The People may not, it was denied them in the Directory, the *Worcester-shire* Association, *&c.* Therefore Church-Rulers must, those higher Powers that are ordained of God, and established in authority by the Fundamental Laws of the Land. Besides, that every Church-National hath authority to appoint and change Church-Ceremonies and Ecclesiastical Rites, was a main Argument that the first Reformers, *Jewel*, *Cox*, *&c.* used against the Popish Bishops for the changing of Religion from Popish to Protestant.

2 Chron. 30 5.

V. 17.

Sir *Richard Baker* Chron. p. 359.

But

But 'tis enough to ſhew the errour and deluſion of this pretence, That the moſt learned of the old Non-conformiſts themſelves have believed and taught that a Scripture-Precept or Example is not neceſſary to the Inſtitution of Church-Diſcipline or Ceremonies. *Calvin* teaches, *That Chriſt would not preſcribe ſingularly and particularly concerning external Diſcipline and Ceremonies, becauſe he foreſaw things to depend on the occaſions and opportunities of Times; nor did he think on Form to accord with all Ages; whereupon* (ſays he) *we muſt have recourſe to the general Rules, that all things may be tried by them. Finally, he delivered nothing in theſe points expreſly, becauſe they are not of neceſſity to ſalvation, but ought to be accommodated to the edification of the Church, according to the different diſpoſition and cuſtom of Times and Countries.* Thus *Calvin* himſelf, and accordingly he practiſed, when (without a Scripture-Precept or Example) he cauſed a conſult to be held at *Geneva* in the Year 1543. for changing the Lords Day from Sunday to Thurſday. Maſter *Baxter* himſelf hath confeſt, that the veſture, geſture, (and other Ceremonies) are all at the determination of the lawful Magiſtrate. Now when they ſuggeſt thus to People what themſelves believe not, what can one think of their deſign in teaching the ſeduced Ignorants (when they have nothing elſe to ſay) to cry, Where doth the Scripture this or that? where have you Scripture-Precept or Example for it?

Inſtit. l. 4. cap. 10. §. 30.

Barkley's Paræneſis ad Scotos, l. 1. c. ult.

Reaſons of the Chriſtian Religion.

3. If their pretending ſuch Veneration for the Scriptures above other men, were not deluſory, their regard to the Sriptures would certainly be more uniform. They would not (as they do) diſregard and contemn thoſe Texts (though ſpeaking never ſo plainly) which make any thing againſt them. Tell them (as the Apoſtle doth the *Corinthians*) of Whiſperings,

Back-biting, Tumults, *&c.* and that while they are full of ſtrife, envyings, and diviſions, one of *Paul*, another of *Apollos*, (one of this mans Congregation, another of that) they are carnal, they will perhaps laugh at you, but neither regard you, nor the Apoſtle. And here is regardable what the learned Doctor *Littleton* obſerves (in his Sermon, entituled *The Churches Peace aſſerted, p.* 25.) of theſe *Corinthians* that the Apoſtle charges with envyings, ſtrife, and Schiſms, which he calls carnality; that they kept to their publick Miniſters, yet are charged with thoſe things, meerly becauſe they preferred one before another, who were both (*Paul* and *Apollos*) men of eminent abilities, and extraordinary graces. And if this be envying, ſtrife and carnality, what would *Paul* have ſaid of us? How carnal are they who deſert the publick Miniſtry, and gad after, not the *Pauls* and *Apollos's* (there are not ſo many among them to gad after) but (as that Reverend Doctor ſpeaks) after every *Will-in-the-Wiſp*, men neither Orthodox nor able. If you urge it to them, that Chriſt and his Apoſtles have foretold us of falſe Prophets that ſhould be amongſt us, and that the marks they have given us to know them by are ſuch as theſe (*viz.*) *They are ſuch as ſeparate themſelves*, (*Geneva* Tranſlation, *Such as make Sects*) *that they are ſuch as deſpiſe dominion*, *i.e.* that cannot endure Superiority or Government: that they are ſuch as *ſpeak evil of dignities*, (*Geneva* Tranſlation, *of thoſe that are in Authority*,) that they are ſuch as are *murmurers and complainers*, *i.e.* never content under any Government: Such as ſhall *periſh in the gain-ſaying of Korah*, which was diſobedience to the Magiſtrate, mutinying againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron*, the Prince and the Prieſt, telling them, that all the Lords People are holy, that they had as good a right to govern as *Moſes* and *Aaron* had,

Jude 8. 9, 11 This deſcription the Apoſtle gives of the Gnoſticks, to prove them Seducers.

had, that they took too much upon them, *&c.* Tell them that the Scriptures call Seducers, falſe Accuſers, (as thoſe that accuſe our Worſhip of Superſtition and Idolatry) Traitors, (as thoſe, who like *Abſalom*, draw away the hearts of the Kings Subjects with fine words and fair Speeches): Tell them that the Scripture deſcribes Seducers to be of that ſort, that *creep into houſes, and lead ſilly women captive*, they will no more regard you than if you quoted the Alcoran. Though theſe Characters hit them, like the left-handed *Benjamites*, to a hairs breadth, yet 'tis ſtrange to ſee with what ſcorn and contempt they will reject that man that ſhall tell them of theſe things, though with the greateſt demiſſion and meekneſs that may be: and with what ſlight and diſregard they will hear and read theſe plain Scripture-marks of Seducers, though as competible to them as Treaſon to a Traitor. Now upon theſe three conſiderations, judge who will, what fit perſons theſe are to pretend to Scripture-rule above other men: yet this pretence is one of their wiles whereby to ſeduce the People and increaſe their Party.

5. *Their pretence to Reformation, Purity of Religion, Tenderneſs of Conſcience, &c.*

Mr. *Baxter* hath well obſerved, that the *appearance of more ſpirituality and ſtrictneſs was that which drew* Tertullian *to the Montaniſts, and which promoted a great part of the Hereſies which have torn the Churches of Chriſt.* This kept up the Donatiſts (whom St. *Auſtin* calls, *Impios & faſtidioſos, pertinaces & ſuperbos ſeparatores*; and their Separation he calls Sacrilegious, Heretical, and Seditious; yet theſe kept up their reputation and ſeparation from the Orthodox Chriſtians Aſſemblies by this very means, the pretence and ſhew. Catho. Theol. Pref. Ep. 48. Ep. 166. 171.

ſhew of greater purity and ſanctity than others.) *This kept up the cauſe of the Priſcilianiſts and Manichees, this kept up the Novatians long in great reputation; this was the ſtrength of the Anabaptiſts in* Germany *and the* Low-Countries; *this is the ſtrength of the Quakers*, and (he might have added) of the Non-conformiſts and their Party at this very day. And the truth is, Piety and Holineſs command ſuch an univerſal love and veneration, that the very ſhew and counterfeit of it, hath deluded thouſands into erroneous ways, and hath ever been accounted the moſt uſefull Tool in the framing of ſeditious and ſchiſmatical Innovations. *Lycurgus* could never have ingratiated his Laws ſo effectually, had he not pretended conference with his goddeſs. Nor could the Factious of our late Times have carried on their deſigns, have gained to themſelves ſuch ſtrength of number, and height of reputation, but by the ſpecious diſguiſe of a pretended Reformation and ſhew of Sanctity above others. Thoſe late Uſurpers never wanted a religious pretext for their moſt helliſh undertakings. As King *James* told his Son King *Charles*, that *under the pretence of Religion, he ſhould find from that ſort of People* (as he ſoon did) *the moſt barbarous and bloudy Villanies in the World.* And King *Charles* the Firſt to his Son King *Charles* the Second. *I have obſerved* (ſays he) *that the Devil of Rebellion doth commonly transform himſelf into an Angel of Reformation; and when mens conſciences accuſe them of Sedition or Faction, they ſtop its mouth with the name and noiſe of Religion and Zeal.* And accordingly the Non-conformity-men of his time in their Sermons before the Parliament 1643. taught, *That 'twas commendable to fight againſt the King for Peace and Reformation; that the War was God's Cauſe, and it ſhould at laſt prevail:* they called fighting for the Parliament, *a following the Lamb;*

Δώρεαν Βασιλ.

Εἰκ. Βασιλ. c. 27.

Calamy Serm. to the Houſe of Lords.

Marſhall.

Lamb; and *a fighting for the Lamb againſt the Beaſt, &c.* *Bodin.*
And at this very day, when Uniformity in God's Worſhip is called Superſtition, Decency called Idolatry, and Loyalty Popery. Grindallizing compliances with the Enemies of the Church, perjurious omiſſions in Church-miniſtration is called Moderation, Diſcretion, Prudence, &c. * Sitting at the Sacrament [a Cuſtom brought firſt into *England* by *John Alaſco*, from among the Arrians of *Poland*, who uſed it in denial of Chriſt's Divinity.]. This ſitting at the Sacrament, and many the like peeviſh contumacies in Non-conformity, are all put upon the Score of Tenderneſs of Conſcience, Purity of Religion, &c. and indeed ſo venerable is right Reformation in Religion, ſo great a bleſſing, and ſo gracious a fruit of the Spirit of God is tenderneſs of Conſcience, that'tis no marvel if the meer pretence and ſhew thereof ſo influenceth a Faction, and captivates the credulous and unwary populace: and therefore for the better diſcovery of that ſort of men, conſider we diſtinctly,

* *Cartwright* the great oppoſer of Kneeling at the Sacrament, died of a Diſeaſe that for a conſiderable time before his death, yielded him no reſt or eaſe in any other geſture but upon his Knees, who had ſo bitterly inveighed againſt thoſe, who in that reverend and religious poſture received the Sacrament, *Atr. Red.*

1. Their pretence to Reformation.

2. To tenderneſs of Conſcience, and that without making our ſelves Judges of their Conſciences any further than the Law of God allows, and the evidence of things compels.

I. In their pretence to Reformation, we conſider the Method and Manner of their Reforming, and the Object or matter to be reformed.

1. The Manner of their Reforming was for the moſt part by ſavage and ſacrilegious depredations. Such ſavage depredations never were committed by the *Goths* in the Sack of *Rome*, as were by theſe Reformation-

mation-men in the Cathedral Churches, particularly *Wincheſter* and *Weſtminſter*, *Exeter* and *Chicheſter*, *Canterbury* and *Rocheſter*, with many others; where their manner of reforming was by breaking down the Organs, throwing down the Communion-Table and Rails, and in ſome places burning them in an Ale-houſe, turning the coſtly Pulpit-cloths, Cuſhions, Gowns, Surplices, and Plate into ready money. A golden Chalice belonging to *Weſtminſter*, which is ſaid to be worth three hundred pounds, was ſold to one *Allen* a decayed Goldſmith, but then a Member of the Houſe of Commons, for threeſcore pounds. When the Depredators of *Hazlerigs* conduct, were deſired in the Cathedral Church of *Chicheſter*, to leave but one Chalice for the uſe of the Sacrament, they refuſed with theſe profane words, *A wooden Diſh may ſerve turn.* They violated the Tombs and Monuments of the Dead; finding in *Wincheſter* Church two brazen Statues of King *James* and King *Charles* the Firſt, they broke off the two Swords placed by their ſides, and with their own, mangled the Crown of King *Charles*, ſwearing in ſcorn, *that they would bring him to his Parliament.* There being in this Church ſeveral leaden Cheſts, containing the duſt and bones of ſome *Saxon* Kings and other Biſhops, they overthrew the Cheſts, ſcattered the duſt of their Bodies about the Pavement, and threw their Bones at that part of the Glaſs Windows which they could not reach with their Pikes to batter down. The like they did in the Cathedral Church of *Canterbury* by thoſe under the Conduct of *Colonel *Sandys*: In this Church (as lately upon the Royal Effigies in Guild-hall) they ſtrangely exerciſed their reforming Madneſs upon the Arras Hangings in the Quire, repreſenting the Hiſtory

Acts Red. l. 13.

* Not that eminently loyal *Sandys* of *Worceſterſhire*, but he that within three Weeks after, was killed at *Worceſter* fight in *Powick* Field.

Hiſt. of our Savior, ſome of them ſwore that they would ſtab him, others that they would rip up his bowels, which accordingly they did, ſo far as thoſe Figures of him in the Arras Hangings were capable of it. Finding another Statue of Chriſt in the Frontiſpiece of the South-gate, they diſcharged their Muskets at it, triumphing greatly when they hit him in the head or Face. In the Cathedrals of *Exeter* and *Weſtminſter* (*horreſco referens*) to theſe horrid outrages they added ſuch prodigious irreverences, as have not been heard of; turning the Church into a Jakes, and leaving their Excrements on and about the Communion Table, after they had ſate about it with their Ale and Tobacco. Thus did they go about to reform the State with ruine, and to ſweep the Church with deſolation, taking the ſame method in Reforming, which *Pelias*'s daughters took to make their old Father young again, *viz.* by cutting his throat to let out his old bloud, which when they had done, knew not where to get new bloud, nor how to put it in him. Conſider who will, the hideous ſpectacle of their ruining Miniſters, aboliſhing of Government, devaſtation of Church, and deſolation of State, profanation of God's Worſhip, and depravation of Religion, the violation of Duty, Conſcience, Peace, Order, Laws, Juſtice, &c. and compare it with the Perſecution of the Greek Churches, and he ſhall find that all the ravages of the Turks ſince the taking of *Conſtantinople*, hath not ſo diſfigured them in two hundred years, as theſe Reformers did in ſix or ſeven years in their own native Country. Such abomination of deſolation is Presbyterian Reformation, which (Mr. *Caſe* ſays) Armies fought for, Parliaments conſult for, Miniſters pray for, and all good People long for.

The very Heathens made it Treaſon not onely to aſſaſſinate, but to offer to puniſh their Prince, but in Effigie, *Saluſt. Bell. Jugurth.* What is it then for Chriſtians to —— God their Saviour in Effigie.

Serm. before the Parl. 1644.

First Plea for Peace. Set forth by Mr. *Rob. Ram* Minister.

for. And let no body pretend in this, as Mr. *Baxter* doth about the Regicidy, that it was a rude conquering Army: For read who will, their * *Souldiers Catechism, their Zions Plea, Christ on his Throne; as also their Ordinance on* August 28. 1643. and he shall see that all this was done by Authority [from the Houses of Parliament,] and in the fear of God [by the advice of the Assembly of Divines.]

2. The extravagancy of their Reformation will further appear by considering the matter of it, or the things to be reformed, which are chiefly Episcopacy and the Liturgy.

1. *Episcopacy*, an Order which hath been proved abundantly to be founded on no other than Scripture and Apostolick practice, Antiquity and Necessity; necessary (as woful experience hath verified) to the support of the English Monarchy; according to those words of King *Charles* the Martyr, *That he could scarce ever boast of one days felicity, after he had once consented to the taking away the Bishops Votes in Parliament.* Which I take notice of the rather, since in a place of note in this Kingdom, at the last Election of Parliament in the year 1681. the Rabble of the Faction cried it, *No Bishops, No Bishops*, the very same words and with the same kind of violence as Dr. *Burges's* Myrmidons did before the Parliament House doors in 1641.

2. The other thing to be reformed is the *Liturgy*; whose Reformation from Popery was sealed by the bloud of Martyrs. When it was first composed and used, the People of *England* received it as a heavenly treasure sent down by God's great mercy to them. All moderate men beyond Seas applauded the felicity of the Church of *England*, in fashioning such an excellent Form for God's publick Worship. And the Act of Parliament that first confirmed the same, declared it to be done

by

by the ſpecial aid of the Holy Ghoſt; (as the words of the Act are) and Mr. *Fox* the Author of the Book of Martyrs fears not to ſay, that it was indicted by the Holy Ghoſt: Yet this is that Liturgy which the peeviſh Profeſſors of theſe ſtirring Times would have laid aſide, for Reformation ſake; that ſo (as King *Charles* obſerves, Εἰκ. Βασιλ.) *Miniſters may be left to their liberty and private abilities in God's publick Service, where no man can tell to what he may ſay Amen, or what adventure he may make of ſeeming, at leaſt, to conſent to whatever errours and ridiculous indecencies bold and ignorant men liſt to vent in their Prayers and other Offices.* Cap. 20.

But 'tis enough to ſatisfie any unprejudiced and judicious Reader, of the unreaſonableneſs of ſcrupling the Liturgy, that will but conſider well thoſe frivolous flaws and exceptions which the great Non-conformity-Champion hath made againſt it, as the beſt he could deviſe, after the twenty years ſtudy he ſpeaks of. First Plea for Peace.

II. The ſecond thing to be conſidered in their pretenſions above other men in their greater Sanctimony and tenderneſs of Conſcience, which were it real, as it is pretended, I ſhould tremble to think of charging them with the counterfeit, and pretence of it onely. But that which liables it to the ſuſpicion of Counterfeit, lies in theſe two things:

1. The erroneouſneſs of it, which is ſo groſs as to call the Deſign of overturning the Government, no Treaſon; the taking up Arms againſt the King, no Rebellion; dividing from the Communion of the Church, no Schiſm; appropriating to private uſes the Church-plate and Revenues, no Sacrilege; and uſing the name of God to all this, no Hypocriſie. How can ſuch thickneſs of errour conſiſt with true Sanctity and tenderneſs of Conſcience, eſpecially if we take

tenderneſs of Conſcience (as that Party doth) in the ſame latitude with a good Conſcience, for ſuch a tenderneſs as to be afraid of ſin, and to decline the temptations, occaſions, and appearances of evil.

2. Their pretended tenderneſs of Conſcience above others, is to be ſuſpected upon the account of its great partiality and defect, wanting that uniformity which is required to its ſincerity. When a man ſhall ſcruple a Ceremony, and yet neglect an Inſtitution of Chriſt; not dare to kneel at the Sacrament, yet wholly neglect the Communion; boggle at the uſe of a Ceremony, yet openly avow the blackeſt of Crimes, backbitings, ſlanderings, ſchiſm and ſedition; is this true tenderneſs of Conſcience, or is it not rather (as one ſays) a conſcience of making no conſcience at all.

But more particularly, doth not the partiality and defect of their conſcientiouſneſs appear, in their notorious uncharitableneſs and cenſoriouſneſs, raſh cenſuring and condemning, ſlandering and defaming all that differ from them, eſpecially Miniſters. But above all, thoſe that oppoſe their way (if ſubtlety and malice can do it) ſhall be ſure to be rendred odious: but the partiality and defect of their conſcientiouſneſs is moſt apparent in their old * Gnoſtick Principle of diſobedience to Magiſtrates. Will any man believe that Practice to be conſcientious, or that Religion to be of God, which ſo diſhonours God and Chriſtianity, that ſo confronts God's Vicegerent, and thoſe in Authority under him, which God commands obedience to, upon pain of damnation; and which (as though foreſeeing the pretence of Conſcience for their diſobedience) doth ſo indiſpenſably urge, you muſt needs obey, and for Conſcience ſake, and that even Heathen Governours; whereas the Governours, *i. e.* the Parliament

* Dr. *Hammond* Annot. on the N.T. pag. preliminary to the *Romans*.

Diſobedience to an inferiour Authority among the Jews was to be puniſhed with death, *Deut.* 17. 12.

liament (in part) that our Diſſenters are to obey, are of their own chuſing, and ſo the Laws are partly Laws of their own making, as made by their own Repreſentatives. What they urge for their diſobedience is ſo ludicrous, and of ſo frequent and obvious confutation, that 'tis a ſhame to inſiſt upon them: But juſt to mention them; as,

1. *That 'tis better to obey God than Man*; which in the form of an Objection, is nothing elſe but a factious ſlander, intimating, as though our Rulers enjoined any thing in diſobedience to God. *Obj.*

2. A ſecond thing urged for their diſobedience, is that of *Chriſtian Liberty*: The ſame that the Gnoſticks urged for their revolt from Chriſtianity, and which was uſed among the Jews as a Paſsport for fugitive Servants, and a prætext to all Outrages and Rebellions; and which the Gnoſticks uſed to juſtifie their diſobedience to Magiſtrates: Whereas indeed this Chriſtian liberty is a quite contrary thing, *viz.* a diſcharge from the neceſſity of obſerving the Moſaical Law, and Rites of Judaiſm, and a power *in utramque* to do or leave undone things not determined in the Scriptures, but in obedience to the commands of our Rulers, as the ends of Society ſhall require. *Obj.* Dr. *Hammond's* Annot. on 1 Tim. 6. 3. 1 Pet. 2. 26. Gal. 5. 5.

3. Another thing they urge is *Paſſive obedience*; an obſolete ſelf-contradiction, which they have taught the Rabble to vapour with, but themſelves are aſhamed to own: as being no other kind of Plea than what Papiſts, Thieves, Murderers may uſe with the ſame reaſon as they; the vileſt Malefactors are paſſively obedient. So that ſince ſo leading a man, as Mr. *Baxter* hath ſaid it, that the Priſcilianiſts, Donatiſts, Novatians, Anabaptiſts, Quakers, and other Sects, were kept up meerly by a pretence to more ſpirituality (Reformation, tenderneſs of Conſcience, *&c.*) let the preſent *Obj.* Cath. Theol. Præf.

ſent Non-conformiſts exempt themſelves, by improving their religious pretences into religious realities, loyalty, charity, meekneſs, and the like, and our animoſities and diviſions will be quickly at an end. But notwithſtanding theſe pretences to Reformation, Religion and tenderneſs of Conſcience; yet are,

6. Sedition, Rebellion, and Murders, real Promoters of Presbytery.

Of theſe I may truly ſay, in relation to Presbytery, as the Ænigmatiſt ſaid of Ice and Water,

Mater me genuit, eadem mox gignitur ex me.

Rebellion hath all along nurs'd up Presbytery, and Presbytery hath tolerated and taught Rebellion. All Hiſtory doth aſſure us, that for this laſt hundred years there hath been no Sedition nor Rebellion, no Tumult, Treaſon, or Maſſacre in all *Europe*, but what hath been acted wholly, or in part, by Papiſt or Presbyterian, as a means, and for the ſake of propagating their Religion.

1. This hath been their frequent Doctrine.
2. Their conſtant Practice.

1. Their frequent Doctrine *ab origine*. *Calvin* in his Inſtitutions (l.4.cap.10.) *If there be any popular Magiſtrate ordained to moderate the licentiouſneſs of Kings ——ſo far am I from hindering them in reſtraining thoſe Kings, as their Office binds them, that I conceive them rather to be guilty of a perfidious diſſimulation, if they connive at Kings if they play the Tyrants; and wantonly inſult over the common People: i.e.* if the People do but judge their Kings to do ſo. And after him *Beza* in his Epiſtle to the Outlandiſh Church in *England*,

England, Ep. 24. *Si quis, &c. If any man being lawfully inveſted with the Supreme Magiſtracy, ſhall unjuſtly ſpoil or deprive his Subjects of their Rights and Privileges,* (of which he makes the People Judge) ——*then the ordinary and inferiour Officers are to oppoſe themſelves againſt him, &c.* It was the frequent Doctrine of *Knox, Buchanan, Willock*, and the reſt of *Scotland*, (as may be ſeen in their Writings) that *if the King refuſe to reform Religion, (i.e.* to ſet up Presbytery) *then the Nobles may, and if they refuſe, the common People muſt.* The preſent Non-conformiſts of *England* have taught, *that if the King raiſe War againſt the Parliament — the King may not onely be reſiſted, but he ceaſes to be King;* and much more to the ſame purpoſe: Mr. *Baxter's Political Aphor. Theſ.* 358. 368. 147. 136. 151. *& paſſim.* When King *James* in his Δῶρον Βασιλ. *Pref.* adviſes his Son King *Charles, to take heed of thoſe People called Puritans, as the very Peſt of the Church and Common-wealth, whom no deſerts can oblige, nor oaths bind, breathing nothing but Sedition and Calumnies, aſpiring without meaſure, railing without reaſon, and making their own imaginations the ſquare of their Conſciences, proteſting before the great God, that he ſhould not find in any* Highlander, *greater ingratitude, more lies, and viler perjuries, than among thoſe fanatical Spirits.* We find the ground and reaſon of theſe words of the King, to be his obſervation of their frequent uſe in their very Sermons, to preach, that all Kings and Princes were naturally enemies to the liberty of the Church, and could never patiently bear the Yoke of Chriſt; thus ſeditiouſly endeavouring to ſteal away the hearts of the People from their Soveraign. And in Queen *Elizabeths* time, when *Burchet* ſtabb'd *Hawkins* a Sea-Captain, thinking it had been the Lord Chancellour *Hatton* (becauſe a zealous oppoſer of Presbytery) he de-

declared (as the old Non-conformists the Donatists did before him) that it was lawful to assassinate any man that opposed their religious Principle or Practice. And as this was their Doctrine, so

2. It was their constant Practice: At the very first starting of Presbytery, in the Year 1535. when the Bishop of *Geneva* would not admit of such alterations as *Viret* and *Farellus*, with their Followers would have had, they presently tumultuated, drove the Bishop and Clergy out of the Town, set up *Calvin*, altered the Government Ecclesiastical and Civil, disclaimed all allegiance to their Duke and Bishop, and standing on their liberty, as a Free State, governed the City by a Common-council of two hundred men, out of which, they chose four as Supreme, whom they called *Syndicks*. And Presbytery having thus been first setled in *Geneva* by Rebellion, was presently sent over into *France*, where the Abettors of it, supported by the Earl of *Tholouse*, made its way by murdering *Trincannel* the Viscount, and chief Governor of the City *Beziers*, and dashing out the Bishops teeth. They set it up in the Low-Countries beginning at the City *Embden* (the principal City of the E. of *Friesland*) by renouncing all allegiance to their Prince, taking up Arms against him, and setting themselves in form of a Commonwealth. *Poltrot*, who being set on by *Beza*, murdered the Duke of *Guise*, when he was upon the Rack, confest that he was promised great rewards by the Admiral, and was assured by *Beza*, that by taking out of the World such a persecuter of the Gospel, he could not but exceedingly merit at the hands of God. In *Scotland*, under pretence of removing the Popish Lords, and promoting the Presbyterian Discipline, the Earl of *Bothwel* and his Complices raised Forces to depose and murder the King. And after that, by the insinua-

insinuation of fears and jealousies of the Kings averseness to the Gospel, his inclination to Popery, and of subverting the Presbyterian Discipline, the *Gowries* conspire to kill King *James*; which Plot was so approved of by the Presbyterian Ministers of *Edenburgh*, that they refused to give thanks for the King's deliverance, when commanded by his Proclamation so to do. The murder of King *Charles* I. was first attempted by Poison and Pistol by Captain *Rolph*, set on by the Parliament Army, before they proceeded in those more gentle methods of disburthening him of his large Revenues, easing him of the charge of Royal House-keeping, clearing him of his stately Palaces, putting him out of care of repairing his Armories, Arms, Ammunition and Artillery, taking him off the charge of keeping his Wife, Children, and most trusty Servants, easing him of a multitude of his best Subjects and Friends by charitable famishing and brotherly banishing, liberal or free imprisoning, and Parliament-plundering, by friendly throat-cutting, and unlawful beheading and hanging; utterly ruinating as many as could be caught of those that loved, served, and honoured him; and at last making him a glorious King, by cutting him off with the Sword of Justice for the sake of God and the Gospel. I say, before they proceeded in these gentle, religious methods, they first design'd his murder with Poison and Pistol by the aforenamed Captain *Rolph* set on by the Parliament Army: Sir *Rich. Bakers Chron. p.* 585.

Thus hath Presbytery all along like any *Pentheſileæ furens*, been bred of bloud, and fed of bloud, and (as common History shews) was begot in Rebellion, born in Sedition, and nurs'd up in Faction.

7. *Aſperſing Governours and Government.*

To this Head of Faction and Sedition may be reduced their frequent cuſtom of aſperſing, and reproaching Governours and Government.

'Tis a Rule in Politie, *Corruptio optimi eſt generatio peſſimi*, ſo that when the Monarchical and Epiſcopal Government are rendered odious, the Republican and Presbyterian muſt of courſe be hugg'd, and endeavoured to be trump'd up: therefore hath it always been their reſtleſs endeavours to caſt what *odium* they can upon the Government and Governours, as Arbitrary, Tyrannical, and Popiſhly affected; and on the Worſhip and Diſcipline of the Church, as Formal, Superſtitious, and ſavouring of Popery, becauſe when once People are ſeduced to opinion thus of it, they have plauſible pretence to oppoſe it, and to endeavour all they can, an alteration in it; and therefore I ſay, it hath always been their practice (as the Apoſtle obſerves of the old Gnoſtick Schiſmaticks) to deſpiſe dominions, and ſpeak evil of things they know not; and that loudeſt of all in their infamous Libellings. Though the holy Scriptures teach, *that he that provokes the King to anger, ſinneth againſt his own ſoul*, Prov. 20. 2. *and that none may ſay unto Kings, ye are wicked; or to Princes, ye are ungodly.* Though the Scriptures call it *Blaſphemy to ſpeak reproachfully of the King, and by* Moſes's *Law, it was death to diſobey but an inferiour authority*: yet in deſpight of theſe Laws of God, Nature, and Nations, it is, and ever was their conſtant practice, by inſolent and treaſonable diſcourſes, by impudent and ſeditious libellings to caſt what *odium* they can upon the Government, as that which is very conducible to the pulling of it down. Queen *Elizabeth* they com-

According to their Sol. Leag. and Covenant.

Job. 34. 18.

1 King. 21. 10.

Deut 17. 12.

compared to an idle dirty Slut, who ſwept the middle of the room, but left the dirt behind the door, becauſe ſhe would not (for their Innovations ſake) ſweep all Decency out of the Church. For the ſame reaſon they called K. *James* the greateſt and moſt deadly Enemy of the Goſpel. And it was his frequent obſervation, that in their Sermons they uſed to teach, that all Kings and Princes were naturally Enemies to the Churches Liberty, and could never patiently bear the Yoak of Chriſt. And in King *Charles* the Firſt's time, (to ſay nothing of their Sermons before the Parliament) they kept in conſtant pay *Mercurius Britannicus*, and other ſcandalous Writers, by their horrid Libels to defame the King, or as their word of advice was, to *blacken* him, and to enrage the People againſt him. And t'other day *Fitzharris* in his Depoſitions before Sir *George Trebee* (as I remember) and others, ſays, that Father *Patrick* the Jeſuite deſired him to ſend him over into *Ireland* all the Libels that came out in *London*, telling him, that libelling the King and the Government, was a thing neceſſary to be done, in order to diſtaſte the King, and to make him and the People jealous of each other. And accordingly hath been their practice; as appears by their late *Letter of Advice for Election of Parliament*; *their Appeal from the Country to the City*; *the Nations Aggrievance*, and many the like venomous Libels, which ſend forth ſuch poiſonous evulſions and belchings of Fanaticiſm, as are enough to turn the very heart and ſtomach of any that hath but the leaſt ſenſe or ſavour of Loyalty in him. And yet how much theſe contribute to the encouragement and increaſe of their Intereſt and Party, may be partly ſeen by that pleaſant eagerneſs, and jocond titillation, wherewith they entertain and read them.

Aër. Red.

Alt. Damaſ. Pref.

Βασ. Δῶρ.

7. *Their boaſt of their number and ſtrength.*

It hath always been their practice to endeavour the increaſe of their Party by boaſting of their increaſe. When they had a mind to proceed in their Innovations in the Year 1585. *Penry* adviſed it as an expedient to terrifie the State into a compliance with them, that they preſent themſelves to the Parliament with a Petition ſubſcribed by a hundred thouſand hands. 'Tis ſaid nothing more alarmed the Queen, no not the *Spaniſh Armado*, than the report of their ſtrength and number, publiſhed in a Book called, *The Humble Motion*, in which it was affirmed, that thouſands did ſigh for the Holy Diſcipline, and ten thouſands had ſought it; and that the moſt worthy men of every Shire had conſented to it, that the Elderſhip was at hand, that all People were inflamed with a zeal for it, and that it was hard, dangerous, nay impoſſible to ſtand againſt it. The very firſt thing they offered at in King *James*'s time, (ſoon after his coming to the Crown) was to preſent a Petition to him in the name of the Miniſters of *England*, deſiring reformation of ſundry Ceremonies and abuſes in the Church; it was given out to be ſubſcribed by a thouſand Miniſters, and therefore called the *Millenary Petition*, which when 'twas examined, wanted ſeveral hundreds of the number. Of the ſame kind was that of *B. H*'s *True Prot. Intelligence*, who lately printed an Addreſs from the City of *Colcheſter*, ſubſcribed by a great number of hands; which Addreſs was never ſeen, nor preſented by any of the Inhabitants of *Colcheſter*, as was made appear by an Inſtrument under the Town-Clerks hand. The Appeal from the Country to the City ſays, that the City of *London*, is too powerful for any Prince, that governs not by the love of

of his People. A man can ſcarce come into any of their company, but he ſhall hear them with this kind of boaſt, flattering themſelves, deluding others, and belying the whole Kingdom. Now whether the deſign of this be to encourage the People in a Rebellion, if opportunity ſhould ſerve, or whether it be meerly to intimidate the Rulers into a compliance with them, and a ſuſpenſion of the pœnal Laws. Certain it is, that this kind of boaſt of their number and ſtrength, and what a conſiderable Party they are, is one frequent way they have, and of very proper tendency to encourage their Followers in Schiſm and Faction, and to increaſe their Party. But as the deſign of it ſpeaks Rebellion, ſo doth its falſity ſhew the Cheat.

CONCLUSION.

Now upon review of the whole, it will appear to any, not blinded with prejudice, or hardened in Faction;

That Toleration of Church-Diſſenters was never hitherto the way to Church-Union; but that Toleration and Separation are as inſeparable in themſelves, as intollerable in their effects, which are conſtantly ſuch as theſe, Schiſm in the Church, Sedition in the State, Diſorder, Diſtraction, and Confuſion in both.

That the Grindallizers and Half-Conformiſts threaten little leſs to the danger and diſhonour of the Church, than the open and profeſt Non-conformiſts, that their great familiarity and intimacy with, their complying and conniving at, and (inſtead of zealous, prudent oppoſition) their halting and ſneaking to them, is that, which cannot but work in People a love and liking to their perſons and their ways; and ſo by their treachery within the Pale, like Moles, undermine the

the Foundation, when the other, like Wolves and Foxes, can but howl and foam without, the Mound and Fence of the Church being ſtrong enough againſt them. And that therefore the Eye of Government had need be watchful over theſe Half-Conformiſts, as well as over the profeſſed Non-conformiſts.

That notwithſtanding Non-conformiſts noiſe about Popery, they are far more conformable to Papiſts than the Conformiſts are, in principle and practice both; that in things relating to Monarchy, they are meerly be-jeſuited, and Popiſhly agent in weakening the Cauſe and Intereſt of Proteſtantiſm ſeveral ways, (as hath been ſhewn) and that by their extravagant zeal, their irregular, diſloyal, and irreligious pretences againſt Popery, they deſign ſomething more; ſince common Hiſtory makes evident, that Presbytery was never promoted any where, but under pretence of pulling down Popery.

'Tis obvious from the afore-mentioned Inſtances of their former Reformation, how dangerous is all ſuperfluous Innovations, unneceſſary alterations, and but pretended Reformation in matters of Church and State.

That ſo far as the Laws permit, they are ſtill hunting upon the ſame File, treading in the ſame ſteps as thoſe in Forty one, ſince the pretences and practices of both are ſo very ſelf-agreeable; and ſince the beſt of Hiſtory aſſures us, that Diſcontent and Ambition, Faction and Sedition, Libelling and Tumultuating have been the ordinary promoting cauſes of their Intereſt and Cauſe.

That the Non-conformiſts will never make good appeals to Scripture, their claim and pretenſions to Sanctity above others, till putting away the Diaboliſm of their falſe accuſations and ſlanderings, their

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ſpiritual pride and malice, they become more humble and charitable in their judgments, more meek and loyal in their behaviour and diſcourſes, ſubmitting themſelves to thoſe that have the rule over them, bewailing before God, and publiſhing to the World their Repentance for what they have contributed to the preſent ſad Separation, as that which hinders the ſucceſs of a learned, orthodox, and able Miniſtry, encourages the Papiſts, and multiplies other Sects, ſcandalizes the Weak, hardens the Infidel and wicked into a ſcorn and contempt of Religion it ſelf, exaſperates Rulers, tends to Sedition and Faction, weakens the Church and the Kingdom, cauſes ſuch envy and wrath, hatred and contentions, (as the Apoſtle ſpeaks) ſuch biting and devouring one another, as is like enough to end in being conſumed one of another. Since the preſent ſtate of things is ſuch, that either theſe things muſt be put upon the ſcore of Religion, or that the Non-conformiſts muſt take the ſhame thereof unto themſelves, and vindicate the honour of Religion by a full and free acknowledgment to the World of their pernicious errours in the preſent Separation. What men fearing God, would dare to juſtifie a Separation which hath ſo deplorable and diſmal tendencies, as afore-mentioned.

Gal. 5. 15.

Their laying the Separation at our doors, and charging it upon the King and Parliament, in cauſing ſuch impoſitions as they cannot in conſcience ſubmit to, hath been ſufficiently proved to be deluſory, impudent and falſe, by the teſtimony of the Reformed Churches beyond Seas, (as well as by our Engliſh Divines) as may be ſeen in the *French Hiſtory of Presbytery*, in the *Letters appendiced to Dr.* Stillingfleets *Separation, &c.* And if they have any mind to lay down their Schiſmatical doings, to leave the Conventicle, and

and to come into the Pale of the Church, bringing their Flocks with them, and there behave themſelves as the Diſciples of Chriſt, and Sons of the Church, ſound and ſincere in their Conformity, peaceable and loyal in their behaviour; if ſo, behold, the ſweet ſeverity and prudent goodneſs of our Rulers to them, in chuſing this very *criſis* of time to execute the Laws againſt them, when that which they call the great Mountain in their way is removed, (*viz.* the obligation to renounce the Solemn League and Covenant ceaſes,) which they cannot but look on as their Rulers gentle driving through that gap, which * this 28. of *March* opens to them. But if this ſeverity of Rulers will not drive them, let the examples of their Predeceſſors (the learneſt of them) lead them. *Beza* himſelf, when Archbiſhop *Whitgift* in a long and learned Letter laid before him the deplorable rupture which, not without his concurrence, had been made in the Church of *England*, he juſtified the Church in her whole proceedings, ſo clearly, that *Beza* confeſt himſelf conquered, and thence-forward never breathed any thing but Peace to the Church, and reſpect to that Reverend Prelate. *Cartwright* after all his clamours and tumultuous proceedings againſt Conformity, when he ſaw to what ſad ends he brought ſome of his Followers, *Barrow*, *Penry*, &c. and with what horrible confuſions he had diſturbed the Church, he was at laſt content to conform; he confeſſed that there was more Diſcipline in the Church of *England*, than in any of thoſe Churches beyond the Seas; (therefore more than in *Geneva*, and other tranſmarine parts in which he lived, where Presbytery was.) After ſome time of impriſonment, the Archbiſhop procured his enlargement, which he accepted, promiſing never to write, preach, or act in any thing to the diſturbance of the Church,

* March 28. 1682. the renouncing of the Covenant is not injoined. See the Act of Uniformity.

Hiſtory of Presbytery, l. 9. n. 34.

Hiſtory of Presbytery, l. 9. n. 30. 33. 35.

Church, either in reference to its Government or Forms of Worſhip. *Henderſon* that greateſt Champion for Presbytery in his time, was ſo confuted by King *Charles* I. in a diſpute about Church-Government, and ſo confounded with ſhame and grief, at the Kings Anſwers to his Cavils, that he fell into a deſperate melancholy and ſickneſs, which ſoon brought him to his Grave, profeſſing (ſays that learned Hiſtorian) that he died a Convert, frequently extolling thoſe great abilities, which he declared to be in his Majeſty. And t'other day *Lewis Du-Moulin* after he had written his *Several advances of the Church of* England *towards the Church of* Rome, and done all he could againſt Conformity, at laſt repents and recants, acknowledging his errours. And now Mr. *Baxter*'s turn is next, if it pleaſe God to hear and anſwer that good Prayer of his for himſelf, in his Cure of Church-diviſion: *Lord hide not from me my miſcarriages, and ſuffer me not to take any ſin that I have committed, to be my innocency, or duty, leſt I ſhould dare to father ſin on God, and leſt I ſhould live and die without repentance, and leſt I ſhould be one that continueth judgments and dangers to the Land.* Amen.

Hiſt. of Preſbytery p. 77.

Dr. *Stillingfleet* Pref. to the Unreaſonableneſs of Separation. P. 251.

FINIS.